

LEADERSHIP CASE STUDIES FROM WOMEN  
SERVING DURING WORLD WAR I

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MASTER OF MILITARY ART AND SCIENCE  
General Studies

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## ABSTRACT

LEADERSHIP CASE STUDIES FROM WOMEN SERVING DURING WORLD WAR I, by Carolyn M. Prickett, 89 pages.

The Army Leadership Requirements Model (ALRM) is the current doctrine concerning leadership expectations in the United States Army. This thesis examined the lives of women who served with and around the Armed Forces during World War I and compared those women to the Army Leadership Requirements Model in order to see if the model applied to their leadership styles. It found these women's leadership styles were in keeping with the ALRM and other leadership models as defined today. They left a lasting legacy of service to the nation and the armed forces which continues in to today.

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## ACRONYMS

AEF	Army Expeditionary Force
ALRM	Army Leadership Requirements Model
ARC	American Red Cross
U.S.	United States
YMCA	Young Men's Christian Association
YWCA	Young Women's Christian Association

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# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

### Introduction

World War I brought great change to American Society. It was a dominant factor influencing the society of the early part of the 1900s. It brought new stressors on societal norms, conventions and expectations for the roles and responsibilities of men and women in all strata of the American public. In the later years of the 1800s and the beginning of the new century, women began to take on new roles outside the home and to step outside the tradition norms of society's expectations. Women leaders stepped up and led in areas where they had not previously done so and their influence was felt in many areas of the country. Five organizations in particular: The Young Man's Christian Association (YMCA) and Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), the American Red Cross (ARC), The Army Nurses Corps (ANC), the United States Navy and the Army Signal Corps all saw women leaders emerge. Few women leaders in this era were in direct management positions. The majority were in positions which influenced those around them in an informal manner. The positions were subordinate ones but influenced the men who were in formal leadership or managerial positions.

These women brought unique styles of leadership into the areas in which they worked. They had to face many obstacles due to their femininity and due to societal norms and expectations. Women faced the same challenges all leaders faced when coming into a new organization therefore their leadership styles were often more adaptive and unique. At the turn of the century, women were stepping forward into new roles and shaping society. The Progressive Movement, which began in the 1890s, brought many

women into areas outside the home, as illustrated by Jane Addams and her work at Hull House in Chicago. Her work to eliminate poverty and against political corruption was a totally new role for a woman in her era.<sup>1</sup> It also proved to lay the foundations for the new profession of social work.

The Women's Suffrage movement also brought women's roles and their positions in society into question. Starting in the 1890s, women began to work together in order to bring about their right to vote. This movement continued until the 19th Amendment to the Constitution was ratified in 1920. As a part of and separate from the Progressive Movement, women's suffrage was a tough fight because it would dramatically change women's position and standing within politics as it would allow women to directly vote and be involved in the democratic process. This required a change in the view of women as well. Some of the women who were involved in women's suffrage are well known today. Names like Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Carrie Chapman Catt have are regarded historically as women of courage and conviction, ready to educate the whole nation on the idea and ideals of woman's suffrage. The women of the Suffrage movement were leaders, mothers, professionals and housewives, from every walk of life and region. Many of them were jailed, beaten and ridiculed for their work but they continued because it was a necessary fight.<sup>2</sup> The importance of the suffrage movement is it impacted on the women who were involved with the U.S. Armed Forces during World

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<sup>1</sup> Allen F. Davis, *American Heroine: Life and Legend of Jane Addams* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 73.

<sup>2</sup> Dorothy Schneider and Carl J. Schneider, *American Women in the Progressive Era, 1900-1920* (New York: Anchor Books, 1993), 183-184.

War I. The same social upheaval which was giving birth to women's suffrage was also producing women who were going to war alongside the armed forces.

When Europe erupted into the flames of war, women in the U.S. activated to encourage American politicians to remain neutral. Addams, the esteemed champion of social causes from ten years earlier, mobilized many women against America becoming involved in the European conflict. She founded the Women's Peace Party and actively campaigned for peace. She met with President Woodrow Wilson many times to discuss concerns and was an acknowledged voice for peace.<sup>3</sup> Not all women were lucky to have the President's ear or avoid missteps. The trials and imprisonment of Kate Richard O'Hare for sedition after delivering an anti-war speech<sup>4</sup> is one example of society's reaction to outspoken women in an uncertain world.

Another woman who made history during this period was Jeannette Rankin. She was the first woman elected to the U.S. Congress. She served two terms at different times as a member of the House of Representatives. Ms. Rankin was one of the 50 members of the House to vote against the war declaration vote in 1917.<sup>5</sup> It must have taken great personal courage to stand and speak for the first time as a Representative, and as the first woman Representative, against war when words such as loyalty and patriotism were voiced by the majority. She continued to be actively engaged with women's peace

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<sup>3</sup> Robert H. Zieger, *America's Great War: World War I and the American Experience* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2000), 173.

<sup>4</sup> Kathleen Kennedy, *Disloyal Mothers and Scurrilous Citizens: Women and Subversion during World War I* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999), 18.

<sup>5</sup> David M. Kennedy, *Over Here: The First World War and American Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 23.

organizations such as the Women's Peace Union and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.<sup>6</sup> Rankin continued to be a voice for peace and women's involvement in the political process for many years.

In wars past women had served in the Armed Forces mostly when their gender was concealed. They had to hide in men's clothing and under men's names. When those women were found out they were sent home thought to be camp followers or worse.<sup>7</sup> Women's work, nursing and cooking supported the war effort during the Civil War but women were not expected to pick up a gun and serve. "During wars, women are often called upon to perform men's work, but they are not expected to continue to do so once the guns fall silent."<sup>8</sup> Nursing as a profession, often identified with Clara Barton, began to take shape and was the first area to see women officially associated with the Army. Dorothea Dix, a well know reformer and crusader for the mentally ill,<sup>9</sup> became the first Superintendent for U.S. Army nurses in 1861. It was not always easy sailing and sometimes they had to get creative. "When they could not cajole, reason, or shame Army doctors into improving conditions for the patients, the women worked around them."<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Harriet H. Alonso, "Jeannette Rankin and the Women's Peace Union," *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 39, no. 2 (1989): 34-37.

<sup>7</sup> Nancy A. Hewitt, ed., *A Companion to American Women's History* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002).

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 174.

<sup>9</sup> John C. Fredriksen, *American Military Leaders: From Colonial Times to the Present*, vol. 1 A-L (Santa Barbara, ABC-CLIO, 1999), 171.

<sup>10</sup> US Army Heritage and Education Center, "Women Nurses in the Civil War," accessed November 6, 2016, [http://www.carlisle.army.mil/ahec/exhibits/CivilWarImagery/Civil\\_War\\_Nurses.cfm](http://www.carlisle.army.mil/ahec/exhibits/CivilWarImagery/Civil_War_Nurses.cfm).

Nursing became an acceptable profession for women in a time when working outside the home was not routine or easily accepted.

Women served officially with the Army as nurses during the Spanish-American War in 1898. In this War, the Daughters of the American Revolution were involved with recruiting civilian nurses to assist the military. Dr. Anita McGee was appointed as the head of the Army Nursing Service and organized and managed the 1600 nurses who served during that war.<sup>11</sup> Women served and died in order to take care of the service members. In 1901 through the Army Reorganization Act the Army Nurse Corps was established. The women recruited into the ANC were appointed not commissioned and served for a period of three years. But, they were not considered a regular part of the Army. It would not be until 1947 when nurses were commissioned as regular officers of the Armed Services. The recognition of women as official service nurses made a serious impact on the place of women in the world.

The world was changing and so were the roles of women. Women's voices were being heard in multiple areas. They were vocal and active in the abolitionist movement of the earlier century; they had started the suffrage movement in the U.S. and started to step into positions such as physicians and lawyers.<sup>12</sup> The Progressive Era saw the rise of social justice movements, professions such as social work, and acknowledgement of the plight of the poor and immigrants. Women's voices were at the forefront of these

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<sup>11</sup> Katherine Johnson, "Called to Service: American Nurses Go to War, 1914-1918" (Master's thesis, University of Louisville, 1993), 3.

<sup>12</sup> Harriet Sigerman, "An Unfinished Battle: 1848-1865," in *No Small Courage: A History of Women in the United States*, ed. Nancy F. Cott (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 262.

activities in the early 1900s. One profession which impacted the Armed Services was librarians. The American Library Association set up libraries at the Army camps as part of their patriotic efforts and worked with the Commission on Training Camp Activities which was part of the War Department. There were many women librarians at this time within the U.S. although they were not “proportionately represented in positions of leadership.”<sup>13</sup> The Commission on Training Camp Activities was conflicted on the role of women in the war effort. On one hand they felt women could play an active role in the war effort and help keep the men away from the more unsavory aspects of camp like such as prostitution and venereal disease. On the other hand, they viewed women as a threat to men’s moral and physical health as they might tempt men into sexual promiscuity. The War Department also felt the libraries must be protected which made it difficult for a women to be in charge. In fact, women were not allowed to be paid for their work as camp librarians and could only serve as volunteers.<sup>14</sup> There were also hospital librarians and these positions were held by women. Housing was one problem. Another was a concern voiced that “women would have difficulty in relating to military leadership.”<sup>15</sup> Despite the conditions, women still contributed to the life of the camps and made an impact on the Soldiers within them.

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<sup>13</sup> Catherine Daniels, “‘The Feminine Touch Has Not Been Wanting’: Women Librarians at Camp Zachary Taylor, 1917-1919,” *Libraries and the Cultural Record* 43, no. 3 (2008): 287, accessed November 6, 2016, <http://www.jstor.org.lumen.cgsccarl.com/stable/25549497>.

<sup>14</sup> Catherine Shanley, “The Library Employees Union of Greater New York, 1917-1929,” *Libraries and Culture* 30, no. 3 (1995): 241, accessed October 6, 2016, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25542770>.

<sup>15</sup> Daniels, 294.

Miss May Wood Wigginton was the head of cataloging at the Camp Taylor Library. In order to get the library set up, she recruited volunteers and Soldiers to help process the books for the library. She was in charge of men typing, printing, and pasting information on the books. The hospital librarian, Minnie Miller had a Soldier detailed to be her assistant. Miller eventually became the actual camp librarian.<sup>16</sup> Restrictions on women and the lack of official recognition as staff are just two illustrations of the barriers women encountered in serving the Soldiers of the Armed Forces. The women persisted in their work and one must think they had a strong impact on the Soldiers they met, served with and supported during the War.

One very big change came with the beginning of World War I; women were allowed to enlist into the Navy. There were no regulations which prohibited women from serving in the Navy and the Secretary of the Navy was quick to recognize that women could serve in the military in capacities which would free more men for active combat duty. Women enlisted, served and proved they could provide value to the Armed Service. Gertrude Murray was a supervisor of 40 women but was made a Chief but not an officer. “The military service of American women in World War I would change the lives of all American living then and the lives of the tens of millions who would come after them.”<sup>17</sup> Through military service, women took on responsibilities and proved their worth in the workplace and in society.

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<sup>16</sup> Ibid., 300.

<sup>17</sup> Evelyn M. Monahan and Rosemary Neidel-Greenlee, *A Few Good Women: America's Military Women from World War I to The Wars in Iraq and Afghanistan* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 2010), 8.

This thesis examines the roles of women in World War I to determine if they had a distinctive leadership style, if they had an impact on the military with whom they were working and if the relationship had a lasting impact on the Armed Forces of the United States. It compares the leadership of women within the different organizations to the Army Leadership Requirements Model (ALRM) in a case study format to examine the leadership styles of these women within the context of modern Army doctrine. Through comparison with the ALRM it is demonstrated that women leaders of World War I demonstrated many of the leadership traits one would recognize today.

In order to examine these questions, it is important to understand the complex nature of the society from which those women came and the structure under which they were working. As a new century was born, the U.S. was poised on the brink of a new society. Many of the biggest changes were of particular concern to women. The roles and attitudes towards a women's place in society were changing, although slowly. By 1917, the suffrage movement which began over 50 years earlier had still not succeeded in enfranchisement for women. Women were involved in many areas of progressive social change but still, for upper and middle class women, work outside the home was kept to those areas thought to be genteel or in keeping with their feminine nature. Salaries for women were always less than men's and women were rarely in charge, unless it was their own business or in those "genteel" in nature.<sup>18</sup> But this is not to say women were not involved in many areas, women had become doctors, lawyers, architects. In the late 1800,

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<sup>18</sup> Karen M. Smith, "New Paths to Power: 1890-1920," in *No Small Courage: A History of Women in the United States*, ed. Nancy F. Cott (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 358.

women were being educated in college and with the arrival of the new century; women would make up 40 percent of all college students in the U.S.<sup>19</sup> To give a context for this figure, according to a Boston Globe article, woman accounted for 55 percent of undergraduates in 2014.<sup>20</sup> All of this helps to set the stage for American societal changes during the First World War.

Technical advances were many at the turn of the century and into the first 20 years of the 1900s. Many of these technical advances, such as gas heating and appliances, canned goods, ice boxes, mass produced clothing, commercial steam laundries, electric lighting, and some indoor plumbing,<sup>21</sup> were focused on the home and improved efficiency. These advances helped to create a new thing for those women who could afford them—time. With time, women could look to other pursuits such as social reform or outside work. Women had been nurses for many years, as well as school teachers, sales clerks, and officer workers. These positions were in clean places and the work was sedentary. So the positions were considered genteel and continued the ideal of women’s work. The telephone also changed lives and created the need for switchboard operators. By 1917, 99 percent of all the switchboard operations in the U.S. were women.<sup>22</sup> When the War Department went looking for bilingual telephone operators it was natural to turn

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid., 360.

<sup>20</sup> Matt Rocheleau, “On Campus, Women Outnumber Men More than Ever,” *Boston Globe*, March 28, 2016, accessed February 19, 2017, <https://www.bostonglobe.com/metro/2016/03/28/look-how-women-outnumber-men-college-campuses-nationwide/YROqwfCPSIKPtSMAzpWIoK/story.html>.

<sup>21</sup> Smith, “New Paths to Power,” 371.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., 385.

to the American Telephone and Telegraph Company to see if they could find women to serve who were already knowledgeable of switchboard work.<sup>23</sup> Women were making inroads into working America.

Women had a more difficult time with positions which would normally be occupied by men. One such area was working within the railroads. As the railroads came to dominate the everyday life, men took on the positions. When war was declared, the government was concerned about being able to get the necessary equipment and people moved in a timely manner from all over the U.S. to where it was needed to be loaded. The railroads were in bad shape and were not able to keep up with the capacity needed for war time. The government decided the best way to handle these concerns was to take over the railroads and make them government entities.<sup>24</sup> The railroad industry was like any other when World War I began, men volunteered or were drafted and they left behind positions that were critical to the war effort. Into those positions: station clerks, dispatchers, railyard workers, women moved to take their place. Thus, women were now working for the federal government.<sup>25</sup> This was a very masculine styled job, but women stepped into the vacancies and kept this vital industry running.

Two federal agencies established branches to help with getting women into the workforce. The Railroad Administration and the Army's Ordnance Department established branches in order to bring women into the workforce for the railroad industry.

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<sup>23</sup> Schneider and Schneider, *American Women of the First World War, 1900-1920*, 177.

<sup>24</sup> Kennedy, *Over Here*, 253.

<sup>25</sup> Smith, "New Paths to Power: 1890-1920," 407.

In July of 1918, Congress funded a new division of the U.S. Department of Labor called the Women-in-Industry Service. These agencies were also charged with monitoring conditions and wages.<sup>26</sup> Many of the new positions did not survive the end of the war but the Department of Labor's Women's Bureau did and continued to foster the rights of women in the workplace.

### The Organizations

#### American Red Cross and Army Nursing Corps

The ARC is a well-known organization which provides services to the American public and to the world. It was founded in the United States in 1881 by Clara Barton after she encountered the organization in Europe. After its founding, the organization provided relief for several domestic disasters and then supported the military and Cuban civilians during the Spanish American War in 1898. Shortly afterwards in 1901, the Army established the ANC. The two organizations would work together to provide medical services in World War I.

Nursing was not a new role for women. It has been considered a women's work down throughout history. During the Civil War, the U.S. Army knew it needed more nurses than it had available and hired Dorothea Dix, to be the Superintendent of Nurses for the Army. The women were not in the Army, but officially associated with the service; and they signed contracts with the Army.<sup>27</sup> The relationship between the nurses and the Army ended after the war. When the Spanish-American War began, the War

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<sup>26</sup> Zieger, *American Great War*, 148.

<sup>27</sup> Monahan and Neidel-Greenlea, 11.

Department realized it was once again in need of services Soldiers could not provide for fellow Soldiers. Women were brought in to be nurses and provide the medical services and comfort the Soldiers needed. This time under the leadership Dr. McGee, a Nursing Corps was organized and mobilized to treat the Soldiers. The Red Cross worked in conjunction with the Army to provide nurses to the new effort. It also provided a relief ship full of supplies, food, clothing and medical support.<sup>28</sup> In 1901, Congress made possible the creation of an official ANC. In 1909, the Navy did the same thing. The problem was they did not give the women formal rank or recognition. But this lack of rank or official recognition is contrasted when a young Army Corps nurse died in Cuba and was buried with full military honors.<sup>29</sup> This contrast is illustrative of the inconsistencies between how the military services treated nurses and how the Services would face difficulties as America entered World War I.

The ARC was in a unique position. After the signing of the Geneva conventions, the ARC was designated an official organization for relief efforts and the organization lobbied heavily to impact regulations pertaining to the treatment of prisoners and other war time activities. This made the ARC a pseudo government organization—not wholly private and not wholly government.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Lavinia Dock et al., *History of Red Cross Nursing* (New York: The MacMillan Co., 1922), 65.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> Julia F. Irwin, “Nation Building and Rebuilding: The American Red Cross in Italy during the Great War,” *The Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* 8, no. 3 (2009): 408.

Ms. Jane Delano was the chairman of the Red Cross Nursing Service and the superintendent of the Army Nurse Corps until 1912. This dual role demonstrates the unique relationship between the organization and the government. In 1912, she resigned from the Army Nurse Corps and focused her energies in building up the number of available nurses to serve wherever and whenever needed.<sup>31</sup> They did not know at the time the world would explode two years later into a war unlike any other.

The Red Cross mobilized to provide assistance across the globe. Even before the U.S. actually entered the war, they were active in providing assistance in Europe. In 1914, they charted a mercy ship and went to help the injured and those in need. It held itself to neutrality.<sup>32</sup> In 1917, the Red Cross raised millions of dollars to provide relief in Italy. They provided nursing services, comfort and shelter to refugees and in 1918, distributed over \$1 million in cash to over 300,000 people.<sup>33</sup> They served those who needed them of every nationality.

The President appointed a War Council when it looked like the United States would enter the war in order to facilitate communication and expedite assistance in the war effort; he appointed all men. In 1917, during the Italian mission, the head Commissioner wanted to appoint a woman named Sarah Shaw to his executive staff. ARC denied him permission because they did not want women to work outside their perceived professional roles as nurses. A position on the executive staff would have been

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<sup>31</sup> Lettie Gavin, *American Women in World War I: They also Served* (Boulder, CO: University Press of Colorado, 1997), 45.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., 180.

<sup>33</sup> Irwin, 408.

a highly visible and did not fit with the image they wanted to project. “Its leaders did not want to appear so motherly anymore.”<sup>34</sup> The ARC had long styled itself “the Greatest Mother in the World.” The newly appointed War Council believed that the complexity of the wartime bureaucracy demanded a new identity for leadership: one defined as rational, efficient, and masculine.”<sup>35</sup> Men may have been appointed to official positions at the war council but women like Delano and Clara Noyes continued to influence those around them and create history through their service.

The nurses with the ARC operated maternity hospitals, clinics for children and other non-combatants and served alongside women assigned to the ANC. One woman who made a difference in France was Elizabeth Ashe. She was the chief nurse of the Children’s Bureau for the American Red Cross. She had offered her services to the ARC but was considered too old to go overseas. She signed up for duty with one of the base hospitals, constructed to support the war but was enticed away by Dr. William Lucas who was forming a pediatric unit to go to France to assist with much needed work. The project was privately funded. Starting in July 1917, Ashe wrote a series of letters to friends about her time working for the project.<sup>36</sup> The letters were published in 1918 and detailed her adventure from getting the necessary clearances, to being in France and working with the Ambulance Services there, while running the children’s clinics. Her words bring her work and daily life into focus.

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<sup>34</sup> Ibid., 419.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., 418.

<sup>36</sup> Elizabeth H. Ashe, *Intimate Letters from France During America’s First Year of War* (San Francisco, CA: Philopolis Press, 1918).

The Red Cross worked to recruit trained nurses and personnel to work with the Army Expeditionary Force (AEF) and also to send over as Red Cross personnel. By the time the Armistice was signed, there were over 21,000 nurses serving with the Army Nurse Corps.<sup>37</sup> The Red Cross supplied the majority of these nurses. Stories written by the nurses tell of long and grueling hours of surgery, caring for sick and dying men and always cleaning. The nurses of the ANC made half the salary of equivalent Soldiers.<sup>38</sup> Mary Borden wrote *The Forbidden Zone* where she spoke of helping men die and some recover. She wrote, “It is only ten kilometers up the road, the place where they go to be torn again and mangled. Listen; you can hear how well it works. There is the sound of cannon and the sound of the ambulances bringing the wounded, and the sound of the tramp of strong men going along the road to fill the empty places.”<sup>39</sup> They would patch up one Soldier just to have another 20 come into the hospitals. They were within hearing distance of the guns. Over 100 women died while serving overseas, most of them by disease, though some were even wounded by enemy fire.<sup>40</sup> They were issued gas masks and stayed under military discipline, living closely together in tents, wearing uniforms, and yet they were not treated as equals.

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<sup>37</sup> Kimberley Jensen, *Mobilizing Minerva: American Women in the First World War* (Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2008), 14.

<sup>38</sup> Monahan and Neidel-Greenlea, 12.

<sup>39</sup> Margaret Higonnet, ed., *Nurses at the Front: Writing the Wounds of the Great War* (Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press, 2001), 132.

<sup>40</sup> Zieger, *American Great War*, 142.

The Army assigned ranks to some nurses, which lead to a confusion about what their status was; were they in the military or were they civilian?<sup>41</sup> Some did not know if they were employees of the American Red Cross, which had recruited them or if they had enlisted in the Army Expeditionary Force.<sup>42</sup> The nurses did not care who they actually worked for as long as they were able to take care of the men who were fighting. By the end of the war, 21,480 women were on active duty with more than 10,000 serving overseas. When Julia Stimson was appointed superintendent of the Army Nurse Corps in 1919, some would consider her the most power women in the military<sup>43</sup> but she still did not have the same recognized positional power as the men in the medical corps.

#### The Army Signal Corps

Women also served with the Army Signal Corps. The Army found it had significant problems with communication once it entered the war. The French communication systems were inadequate to handle the volume of traffic necessary to prosecute the war. The Army also did not have enough Soldiers to man the communications lines. Within the United States, women were the dominate employees of the telephone companies. General John J. Pershing requested from the War Department, telephone operators who could speak French.<sup>44</sup> The Army wanted to find women who were both bilingual and already knew how to operate the telephone switchboards. They

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<sup>41</sup> Irwin, 419.

<sup>42</sup> Zieger, *American Great War*, 142.

<sup>43</sup> Jensen, 14.

<sup>44</sup> Monahan and Neidel-Greenlea, 9.

could not find many women who fit this criteria. They settled for women who could speak French and requested the operators who worked for the American Telephone and Telegraph Company teach them what they needed to know in order to work the switchboards. The women were brought into the service, swore an oath, and wore the uniform. But they had to pay for their own uniforms and did not have rank.<sup>45</sup> They worked the switchboards, some of them within shouting distance of the front lines. They were issued gas masks and helmets. 233 women joined the Women's Telephone Unit of the Signal Corps and went to France.

The women of the U.S. Army Signal Corps were called "the Hello Girls or the "voice with a smile" and they made a difference.<sup>46</sup> The adjutant general of the Army directed that the women would be given contracts of service and be considered civilians. But when the women were brought into the Army, they had been sworn in and they did not sign contracts. They thought they were members of the Army, just like any male.<sup>47</sup>

The Hello Girls were a different demographic than some of the other organizations which sent women to France or those who worked with the AEF. The operators were most likely to be younger, the average age 26, unmarried and educated. "The AEF wanted to hire women who were independent and would not get homesick

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<sup>45</sup> Monahan and Neidel-Greenlea, 10.

<sup>46</sup> Schneider and Schneider, *American Women of the First World War, 1900-1920*, 177.

<sup>47</sup> Karen L. Hillerich, "Black Jack's Girls," *Army Magazine*, December 1982, 44-46.

when they were away from their families.”<sup>48</sup> Many of the operators lived on their own at some point before getting appointed to the AEF and thus were more independent than other women of their age. Grace Bunker was the chief operator for the first group of women who went to France with the Signal Corps. She worked for AT&T before the war started and joined up along with two other friends.<sup>49</sup> She wrote in her recollections, “I was so proud of them. I was also very conscious of my heavy responsibilities. I had been put in charge of the unit.”<sup>50</sup> She was taking 33 women, ages 19 to 35 to a foreign country by sea, in austere conditions and worrying about German submarines. Grace was assigned forward in the First Army Headquarters. She remembered General John J. Pershing himself inspecting their living quarters and a time when her feet became frostbitten due to the roof leaking in the winter time. She worked alongside what she called “the Signal Battalion boys” and could hear the roar of guns, from Chaumont, to Ligny. She moved forward with the Army to Verdun. She was writing in 1937 but her recollections were that the Signal Corps officers watched over them and were thoughtful.<sup>51</sup> She received the Distinguished Service Medal after 20 months of service.

The women were anxious to serve and excited to get into areas where they would see heavy activity. In a letter home to her mom, Adele Hoppock wrote that she was not

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<sup>48</sup> Jill Frahm, “The Hello Girls: Women Telephone Operators with the American Expeditionary Forces during World War I,” *Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* 3, no. 3 (2004): 284.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., 292.

<sup>50</sup> Grace B. Paddock, “I was a ‘Hello Girl,’” in *The World Wars Remembered*, ed Timothy Clark (Dublin, New Hampshire: Yankee, 1979), 110.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., 113.

afraid of the work but, being stationed somewhere in France where it was not busy. She wrote “There is not a girl among us who would not give anything she could to the U.S. We are so proud to be in the service and we feel as though it is our privilege, nay our duty, to do our utmost.”<sup>52</sup> Adele articulates the very foundations of service and Army values.

Merle Anderson was another member of the Army Signal Corps. Ms. Anderson was from Montana and had 11 years of experience working with the telephone company. She had more experience than most on the technology used in France, which was similar to that in Montana and so they asked her to be an instructor.<sup>53</sup> She was teaching the Soldiers how to be operators and sometimes ran into problems with them. In her recollections she wrote about an incident where a Soldier did not want to learn from a woman. His alternative was kitchen patrol. The Soldier was quick to decide that reporting to her was better than doing kitchen clean up. She reminded them that anyone could carry a weapon but “the safety of a whole division might depend on the switchboard one of them was operating.”<sup>54</sup> Through force of personality she seemed to get these young Soldiers to cooperate and learn. Merle Anderson also received a citation for Meritorious Service from General Pershing in 1919 when she left Paris.

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<sup>52</sup> Martin M. Evans, ed. *American Voice of World War I* (Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn Publisher, 2001), 66.

<sup>53</sup> Gavin, 85.

<sup>54</sup> Schneider and Schneider, *American Women of the First World War, 1900-1920*, 184.

The Hello Girls served well in France and returned home to the U.S. to pick up their lives. When they returned home, they found out the Army did not view their service in the same manner which they did and they were not awarded veteran's status. The Army said they were contract civilians and not enlisted members of the service. This was despite the oaths that were sworn, the pay that was equivalent to the Soldiers and their service in front line Headquarters. Merle Anderson took on a campaign to gain recognition for the women who served. It took until 1979 for Congress to pass a bill to recognize these women as veterans. Only 18 of the original 223 women were alive to receive their official discharge certificates, veteran's benefits and Victory Medals.<sup>55</sup> Their service was essential but the Army at this time was not ready to have women who were Soldiers.

### Women in the Navy

The Secretary of the Navy, Josephus Daniels did not share the Army's, nor the majority of the United States', disinclination to enroll women into the service. He realized that the law did not prohibit women from being in the Navy or the Marines and jumped at the opportunity to bring women in to replace the men that would be needed to go forward to sea. As soon as word was passed that women could enlist, there were numerous women who signed up. Some women wanted to serve at sea, others just wanted to serve. By May of 1917, 725 women had signed up. They came from all walks of life and education level. Some were secretaries and telephone operators, one was a lawyer who had served in the Oregon State Legislature, and some had only enthusiasm and

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<sup>55</sup> Gavin, 93.

dedication.<sup>56</sup> They all had one thing in common, their desire to serve the country in time of war.

Loretta Walsh was the first woman to enlist in the Navy on the 21st of March 1917.<sup>57</sup> She enlisted and stayed in Philadelphia, where her job was to enlist others and to sell Liberty Bonds. She was considered very successful at it. When the flu epidemic hit, she survived her own bout of it and then nursed others at the naval hospital. Unfortunately, she developed tuberculosis as a result of the flu and passed away in 1925. More than 50 Navy and Marine women died from the flu while serving and many others were never the same.<sup>58</sup> The flu did not distinguish between ranks or gender.

In contrast to the nurses and the women of the Signal Corps, the women who joined the Navy and Marines during World War I, were actually recognized as being in the service. The law did not prohibit women from joining the Navy but did prohibit them from being made officers because officers were supposed to go to sea and women would not be allowed to do so,<sup>59</sup> except as nurses in specific circumstances.

Like the Army, the Navy has established a Navy Nurse Corps in 1908. An Army Nurse, Esther Hasson was appointed superintendent. Two of the nurses sailed with the Red Cross Mercy ship in 1914. There were 160 Navy nurses when the United States entered World War I and the number quickly came up to 1000. More than 300 nurses

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<sup>56</sup> Jean Ebbert and Marie-Beth Hall, *The First, the Few, the Forgotten: Navy and Marine Corps Women in World War I* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2002), 17.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., 5.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., 19.

<sup>59</sup> Gavin, 13.

served overseas and 36 died while on active duty. Most of those who died were killed by influenza.<sup>60</sup>

Women were still in charge even without an official rank. Daisy Erd supervised over 200 women at the Boston Navy Yard. The Navy women took on many roles: clerks, typists, drivers, telephone operators, messengers and couriers. Women also took on jobs “generally considered unsuitable for women to do, if not impossible.”<sup>61</sup> Another area that women worked in was in Intelligence. They worked as decoders, intelligence analysts and investigators of suspected espionage.

There is a story that illustrates the role of women in the Signal Corps. Della White was a Yeoman Second Class (F) in the office of the Chief of Naval Operations. There was an incoming phone call which the male operator could not understand during a major operation. He handed off the call to White in hopes she could make sense of the call. The exchange that followed provided an example of the influence a woman could yield in this particular era of the United States:

She immediately interrupted the caller and said, slowly and loudly, “wait a minute!” Silence at the other end, so she continued in the same calm, slow voice, “I suggest you sit down, take a deep breath, count to ten, and then talk. I can then take your message.” As the now intelligible words came, she took them in shorthand, and then asked, “Signature?” The caller barked, “Benson” Recognizing its urgency for the convoy, White immediately encoded the message, sent it off, then sat down and leaned back with a mighty sigh. “By tomorrow I may be fired,” she announced. “I just bawled out our boss, Admiral Benson.”<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> Monahan and Neidel-Greenlea, 12.

<sup>61</sup> Ebbert and Hall, 47.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid.

White was not fired the next day but continued to serve the nation and the Navy throughout the war. There are other stories concerning the experiences of Yeoman (F) that tell of similar tales. White was one of over 12,000 women who enlisted in the Navy and served during World War I.

Society's reactions to the women in naval and marine uniforms were mostly positive. People realized that the women were doing vital work for the war effort just like men. The women, some of whom had never been anywhere unescorted or unchaperoned, moved across country to strange cities, found their own lodging, worked side by side with men in the great endeavor that was winning the war.<sup>63</sup>

Their dedicated service opened a variety of occupational opportunities to women and introduced the idea of equal pay for equal work. Simply stated, The Yeomen (F) blazed the trail for more complete involvement of women in this country's life, and they paved the way for the women's liberation movement that followed many years later.<sup>64</sup>

These women made a difference for those that followed after them and built a foundation for the future.

#### Young Men's Christian Association and Young Women's Christian Association

A civilian organization that supported the Army in the field was the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Association. (YMCA and YWCA) The YMCA came to the United States from England. It had provided tents for Soldiers during the Civil War for social activities and recreation. The members ministered to prisoners and offered

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<sup>63</sup> Ibid., 27.

<sup>64</sup> Gavin, 16.

other personal services. The organization offered similar services during the Spanish American War.<sup>65</sup> The Young Women's Christian Association was founded in Boston in 1867. Its focus was to assist young, single women who were moving from the farm into the city to find work.<sup>66</sup> The two organizations were separate entities but worked together to provide services to the public.

When the U.S. entered World War I, many organizations mobilized to provide assistance to Armed Forces. They were great at organizing services but not as good at organizing with each other. General Pershing placed the YMCA, YWCA, the Salvation Army and the ARC under military control in 1917. The YMCA and the YWCA provided much the same services to Soldiers and support workers during World War I. The YMCA organized canteens for the Soldiers in France, following the units as they moved and organizing canteens along the way. Mrs. Theodore Roosevelt, Jr and Mrs. Vincent Astor were among the first volunteers in France and opened the first canteen in Paris.<sup>67</sup> Many women volunteered with the YMCA and served in France to provide a friendly face and a welcome place for the Soldiers to gather when they had a moment.

The YMCA also created several places for the Soldiers to go when they were on leave. Since American Soldiers could not return to the United States during a leave, the government wanted to provide them with a place, other than Paris, to have their rest and recreation. The YMCA organized these areas and took good care of the entertainment.

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<sup>65</sup> Ibid., 129.

<sup>66</sup> Nancy F. Cott, ed., *No Small Courage: A History of Women in the United States* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 343.

<sup>67</sup> Gavin, 130.

The work was hard but the women under took it without complaint. Margaret Deland, a journalist, was asked to write a paper on the YMCA women in France. She observed, “I found an infinite capacity for toil; I found patience, and quick understanding of other people’s feelings (meaning by “people,” “Soldiers”). I found a ready friendliness, and extraordinary executive ability.”<sup>68</sup> The women served and the men were happy to have them there. Gertrude Bray wrote home while she was in France that she overheard a young man say there was “An honest to God American girl down here.”<sup>69</sup> The women who worked for the YMCA served an important service by creating a little bit of home for the American Soldiers.

The YWCA also provided services to the Soldiers both in the United States and in Europe. The Army would not allow women and families into the camps where the conscripted Soldiers were being trained. The YWCA built and ran hostess houses which were a place Soldiers and families could meet at training camps. The hostess houses provided a place for Soldiers and young women to meet and talk.<sup>70</sup> The YWCA hired women architects to design the Hostess Houses. Before the end of the war, 34 had been built and 24 were under construction.<sup>71</sup> These Hostess Houses provided a home away

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<sup>68</sup> Mary R. Bead, ed., *America Through Women’s Eyes* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1933), 453-454.

<sup>69</sup> Evans, 64.

<sup>70</sup> Cynthia Brandimarte, “Women on the Home Front: Hostess Houses during World War I,” *Winterthur Portfolio* 42, no. 4 (2008): 201-22.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., 221.

from home for the many Soldiers uprooted by conscription to serve in the American Army.

Women also served with the YWCA overseas. The YWCA provided housing and organizational services to assist the telephone girls of the Army Signal Corps. The women of the Signal Corps relied on the YWCA to provide safe housing and a place to relax and meet people.<sup>72</sup> The same models for the Hostess Houses in the United States were carried into Europe. The women acted as hostess and chaperones for the telephone operators. For the nurses who were working, they provided rooms with rugs and tea tables and magazines. They gave them a place to have some privacy and relaxation. “All over France, American nurses, Signal Corps women, Ordnance women, Quartermaster women, YM and Red Cross women lived a little more comfortably and functioned a little better for the care and forethought of the YW.”<sup>73</sup> It is hard to imagine the comfort this little bit of America in a foreign country and in the midst of war meant to the men and women who utilized the services of the YWCA.

The YWCA also provided assistance to French and other European Nationals. They provided canteen services, nurseries, social rooms and assistance with labor issues for the French munitions workers. They taught English classes, typewriting and other skills.<sup>74</sup> They interacted with all of the people who came into their paths. By the end of the war they were running 18 houses for Soldiers and American women. They were

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<sup>72</sup> Gavin, 84.

<sup>73</sup> Dorothy Schneider and Carl J. Schneider, *Into the Breach: American Women Overseas in World War I* (New York: Viking, 1991), 140.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid., 142.

running 15 houses for the Signal Corps' Hello Girls, "44 nurses' clubs; 31 foyers for Frenchwomen; six recreation centers; five summer camps; a summer conference; an emergency training school; five refuges for port and transport workers; four cemetery huts, where they offered lodgings, food, and kindness to visitors to remote cemeteries."<sup>75</sup> This was a great endeavor and so the women interacted with thousands of people as they passed through into the European theater.

### Summary

World War I did not bring changes to the social and cultural lives of women in the United States. It occurred within the broader context of the Progressive Era, of societal changes for women's place and place within society. The so called traditional roles of women were changing as the world in which they lived was changing. New technology brought changes into the households throughout the nation, which allowed for easing of the lives of those who could afford them. The United States entered the War in Europe within the context of this great societal change.

Women took on new roles under the calls for replacing men so men could serve at the front. All areas of the country were impacted from industrial jobs to medical services. Lives were changed in the service industries and in federal service. Women stepped up as railroad workers and as ammunition specialist. They took on jobs which had been termed as men's work and did it well. In many places they were not paid as much, they were not given benefits, and the conditions were not good. But they persevered and served.

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<sup>75</sup> Ibid.

Women's lives intersected with the Armed Services in many ways. World War I was not the first time women had stepped forward and served. Women have served as nurses in the Civil War and the Spanish American War. The Army and the Navy established Nurses Corps as reserves of nurses who could serve when needed. The American chapter of the International Red Cross had been established and was already engaged in helping the American people in disaster relief; a tradition the organization would continue into this century. The ARC as a partner and quasi government agency worked with the Army in order to provide trained nurses to serve in France when American entered the war. They would serve as close to the front as possible, including going forward with ambulances. Working long hours in horrid conditions seeing the worst of the worst that men could do to other men. At War's end, they returned to the U.S. as veterans without status or benefits.

The ladies of the Army Signal Corps brought a little bit of home with them to France. At the other end of the telephone was an American accent that brought home and comfort to the men in extreme situation. They too worked long hours and in the same conditions as the men near the front. They suffered lack of sleep and kept their gas masks handy. And when they returned to the United States, they found out they were unacknowledged veterans without benefits. That acknowledgment would not come for 58 years.

The women of the American Red Cross, ANC, Army Signal Corps, and the U.S. Navy were all leaders in that they were in a new place and in new roles, but they were not all leaders in the official sense that they had positions of power as delineated by rank

within the Armed Forces. However, it is evident they possessed individual leadership styles and impacted the world around them.

### Primary and Secondary Research Questions

This thesis is not about the women whose names have been recorded already in history. This thesis looks to examine the leadership styles of the emerging women leaders in the American Red Cross, ANC, the YMCA and YWCA, the Army Signal Corps and the U.S. Navy during World War I in the United States. Therefore, the primary research question is:

Did the women exhibit leadership as defined by the Army Leadership Requirements Model?

To determine the answer, a set of secondary research questions must be answered:

1. Did those women impact those around them through actual positional power or referent power?
2. What can we learn from their lives to apply to leadership today?
3. How can their styles be related to common leadership styles today?
4. What lessons can these success stories from World War I teach our emerging women leaders of today?

As women leaders continue to expand their professional influence, it is good to look back into history to see what others have done and allow that to give inspiration for the future.

This work will consider questions about the leadership styles of the women in World War I and barriers they encountered and how they overcame them.

### Assumptions

The following assumptions have been made during the course of this research:

1. Leadership styles can be discerned from reading about how women interacted.
2. The concepts of the Army Leadership Requirements Model are relevant when examined from a historic perspective.
3. There were women leaders in World War I.

### Limitations

Limitations were placed on this thesis through restriction of the timeframe of the case study to be the years 1917 through 1919 and the United States involvement in World War I. Only those articles that pertained to the American involvement in World War I were reviewed, although there is a quantity of related documentation available in British and French writing. Limitations were placed on the research due to the availability of primary source material that provided actual descriptions of leadership activities and philosophy. Many of the accounts were descriptions of daily life rather than specific descriptions of leadership challenges and their impacts.

### Scope and Delimitations

Delimitations were placed by confining the organizations to those involved with the United States Armed Forces. There were many different organizations that interacted with the Army during World War I, but this study will only examine the American Red Cross, ANC, the YMCA and YWCA, the Army Signal Corps, and the U.S Navy. An assumption was made that there would be enough material as to provide leadership

examples to make the case study viable as well as leadership examples from the women examined.

### Definitions of Chapters

The second chapter is a review of the literature currently available on the topics of World War I, women's social movements from 1900 to 1920 and leadership styles. The primary leadership discussion is focused on the Army Leadership Requirements Model. In contrast, modern commercial leadership styles books were reviewed to compare to the organizations and women studied. There are also periodicals and primary source material such as diaries and letters.

The third chapter describes the case study methodology applied in this thesis, and the method of analysis used to investigate the literature and come to my conclusions. It will discuss the Army Leadership Requirements Model and how the women's experiences were defined or exemplified that model.

The fourth chapter will be a discussion of women's participation with the Armed Forces during World War I, in particular the YWCA and YMCA, The American Red Cross, The ANC, the Army Signal Corps, and the U.S. Navy. Discussion will be confined to the periods of 1900 to 1920. Their leadership styles will be compared to the Army Leadership Requirements Model and other popular leadership styles of modern writers.

In the final chapter will provide a conclusion to the project. It will also have recommendations for further research and to decision makers. It will discuss specific lessons learned by the author in researching and writing the thesis.

By examining the challenges that they faced as emerging leaders, one can perhaps find examples of how situations were handled then and now, or organizations impacted

that will have relevance to the emerging feminine leader of today. In studying the lessons of history, one can learn how to make improvements for the future benefit of all.

### Summary

This thesis combines the two areas that the author has both interest and education. I have a BA in history and an MBA with a concentration in leadership and organizational management, interest in the difficulties that women face in leadership positions, and how they overcome them. This paper will explore all of those aspects within a historical context and also bring forward any lessons that apply today. An in-depth look into leadership styles, both modern and historical, will assist an emerging leader and also allow this author to assist others who face the same challenges. The researcher plans to illustrate the contributions of women during World War I and open a discourse on their contributions and influences to the United States Army.

Many people wrote about the War. Students today are lucky that diaries, memories and letters of those who served during those great times are still available to be studied. One witness to the War wrote “Civilization crumpled like a toy balloon and was trampled under the feet of contending armies. The sword, after all our fine words, proved mightier than the pen. Right went down before might. The currents of life turned backwards.”<sup>76</sup> The words resonate with those that read them and one cannot truly comprehend a war such as this unless they were participants in it. But in this world of chaos and massive change, there were many bright spots; women who served and

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<sup>76</sup> Ernest Bicknell, *With the Red Cross in Europe, 1917-1922* (Washington, DC: The American Red Cross, 1938), 4.

achieved great success for the future and their stories should be examined. This thesis will examine those successes and look to see the leadership styles of those women pioneers in order that one might take the lessons of the past and apply them to any current challenges women face in leadership roles today.

## CHAPTER 2

### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### Introduction

There are numerous books, articles, diaries, collections, even movies about World War I and about the men and women who served during this time. There are articles on women and the social and political change which brought to American Society between the years 1900 to 1920. There are different books and articles on women in leadership, leadership styles, tactics and strategies, and even more books on how women's leadership is the same or different from men. What this thesis seeks to explore from a review of the literature available is the relationship between the women who worked alongside the men of World War I and their leadership style, what that style might have been and how or if it did impact the world around them. With these questions in mind researching these topics meant sifting through quantities of data in each of the different areas to identify the voice, and the pattern of leadership that would tell the story of these women's impact on the world around them. This chapter is divided up into three areas. This first is reviewing the works on women in World War I and the War itself. The second section will concentrate on some of the works available concerning the time frame of 1900 to 1920 in the U.S. and the women who were changing society as they knew it. The last will be a discussion of some of the current literature on leadership and, in particular, women's leadership.

## World War I

The First World War was thought to be the war to end all wars. Because of the massive effort required to prosecute the war, it changed the fabric of society. Robert Zieger's *America's Great War: World War I and the American Experience*, is one example of books available to the reader on the subject of the War's impact on women, minorities and workers. The author examines women and their role in the military, the peace movement, and in industry. It examines the impact the War had on the fabric of society.

David M. Kennedy's 2004 book *Over Here: The First World War and American Society*, looks at the American society during World War I and the impact of the war on the society. It examines the impact of the war from all avenues: political, economic, social. It compares the effects of the war in those areas. Of particular note, the book discusses the impact of women in those areas and gives information on their role in politics, social reform and economics.

Meirion and Susie Harries' monumental 1997 work, *The Last Days of Innocence: America at War, 1917-1918* explores the social effects of the mobilization and fighting of World War I on America and the lasting impact from those 19 months. It examines such topics as the change in industrialization, women's roles, integration and then re-segregation, reintegration of Soldiers back into society and the overall changes brought about by the Great War. These three books give an overview of American during the War and its impact on society, culture, politics and economics and discusses women's role in all the changes.

There are also excellent books detailing the women who became involved in industry, who took on new roles in the workplace to make up for the departure for so many men to the War. The World War II image of Rosie the Riveter is known by many, but the women of American also stepped up during World War I. Carrie Brown's collection of stories, photographs and pictures collected in *Rosie's Mom: Forgotten Women Workers of the First World War*, published in 2002 examines the work of American women during the war in munition plants, shops, technical fields and all other areas where women stepped up to fill the gap of departed men. The story is told through numerous pictures in which women in everyday situations, working and becoming a part of the Nation's history. It was a crucial moment in American history and this book offers insights concerning women and industry as it paints a compelling story.

Kimberly Jensen also studied the movement of women into non-traditional roles in her book, *Mobilizing Minerva: American Women in the First World War*, published in 2008. Her discussion of the war time mobilization of women into non-tradition roles during the First World War and its effect on everyday lives during the period contains vivid pictures of the conditions and roles of women during the War in the United States. It discusses the impact of the changing roles in the social landscape.

While women's roles were changing and they were entering the workforce in areas never before dreamt of on U.S. soil; women were breaking barriers. Before World War I, women had served alongside the Armies but in traditional roles of nurse, helpmate or even camp follower. But in order to wear the uniform, they had to hide their sex. World War I changed that. Jean Ebbert, and Marie-Beth Hall's book *The First, the Few, the Forgotten: Navy and Marine Corps women in World War I*, published in 2002 by the

Naval Institute Press, is a review of the first women enlistees in the Navy and Marine Corps during World War I. Thoroughly researched, including interviews with family members of some of the women who served, the book looks at everything from uniforms to policies, to the laws which impacted their service. These women were the first to wear the uniform of the Armed Services.

Lettie Gavin's, *American Women in World War I: They Also Served*, published in 1997, adds great depth to the story through a comprehensive overview of women's roles in World War I in personal interviews and excerpts from diaries, letter and memoirs. Gavin has captured many personal stories and created vivid images of the work women did during the War.

Dorothy and Carl J. Schneider's, *Into the Breach: American Women Overseas in World War I* discusses the experience of American women overseas during World War I. It uses, as much as possible, their own memoirs, letters, diaries and newspapers articles to tell the stories of how and where these women served.

Elizabeth Shipton's, *Female Tommies: Women of the First World War*. This publication looks at the military role of women worldwide during World War I. The women were members of organizations such as the Army Signal Corps. Chapter 9 of this book is entitled, "Women in the American Military" and discusses the use of women in the Signal Corps, Marines, and Salvation Army. The author based her work on diaries, letters and memoirs. This book is a treasure trove of personal experience and reveals the leadership qualities of the women in those pages.

The first-hand accounts written by the people involved paints vivid images of what life was like for these pioneering women. Elizabeth Ashe's, *Intimate Letters from*

*France During America's First Year of War*, describes the devastation, loss of life and destruction she witnessed while in France in 1917. But it also talks about the spirits of the people she treated and the beauty of the countryside. She looked for the good even in the midst of the horrors of war.

Dorothy Cator's book, *In a French Military Hospital*, published in 1915, sets the stage for American involvement and helps to set the world in its context. Margaret Higgonnet edited a book called *Nurses at the Front*, which contained the writings of Ellen La Motte and Mary Bordon as they served in France as nurses. Nurses were not the only ones who wrote about their experiences in the war.

Grace Baker wrote about her experiences as a "Hello Girls" in an article published in Yankee Magazine. These sources and others provide a first-hand look at the ground breaking work women did in serving their nation during World War I.

### Social Context

In the maelstrom of social upheaval which was the years 1900 to 1920, American society experienced change on many different levels. This period has been labeled the Progressive Era or Social Justice Era. It was a time the Suffrage movement made its final push and saw the rise of the Women's peace movement. In this time, the first woman was elected to the House of Representatives to serve in Congress.<sup>77</sup> Women were involved in social work, or professions normally considered men's territory like, medicine and politics. They built vast networks to champion the causes of immigrants, poor, working

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<sup>77</sup> Harriet Hyman Alonso, "Jeannette Rankin and the Women's Peace Union," *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 39, no. 2 (1989): 34-37.

class and laborers. They rallied and marched to fight and win the right to vote for women. This is the social upheaval in which World War I must be examined and women's roles must be reviewed.

Two articles discuss Jeannette Rankin's role in government, women's suffrage and the peace movement are Harriet Hyman Alonso's "Jeannette Rankin and the Women's Peace Union" published in *Montana: The Magazine of Western History*. This article examines the time during which Rankin, was elected as the first women to the House of Representatives and discusses the time she spent as the Legislative and Executive Secretary for the Women's Peace Movement.

The other article is Kathryn Anderson's "Steps to Political Equality: Woman Suffrage and Electoral Politics in the Lives of Emily Newell Blain, Anne Henrietta Martin, and Jeannette Rankin," published in *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies*. The article discusses the lives of three women in politics, Rankin, the first female member of Congress, Blain who served as Chairman of the Democratic National Committee, and Martin who ran for Congress but did not win. It discusses how involvement with the suffrage movement prepared the women to be involved in politics.

Any discussion of the social context of World War I would not be complete without exploring the suffrage movement. Ellen C DuBois' *Woman Suffrage and Women's Rights* is a great place to start an exploration. This book is a collection of DuBois' articles on women's rights, suffrage and political justice. It also includes a historiographical overview of suffrage scholarship. The articles reflect the changing attitudes to politics, citizenship, and gender.

Olivia Coolidge's, *Women's Rights: The Suffrage Movement in America 1848-1920*, traces the history of the women's suffrage movement within the United States. In particular, it looks at the movement through a review of the leaders and their impact on the movement. There are multiple chapters dealing with the time of 1905 through 1920 and discussing such leaders as Alice Paul, Carrie Catt, and Maud Park. Each of these three ladies provided leadership and inspiration to the suffrage movement. This is a particularly important book because it gives a glimpse of women leaders during this time, providing a comparison with leaders to be discussed in context of the ARC and other organizations related to the Armed services.

A third book which is useful in review of women's suffrage is Elizabeth Frost and Kathryn Cullen-DuPont's book, *Women's Suffrage in America*. The book provides essays and events as well as firsthand accounts and critical documents from the women's suffrage movement. The text includes reports from the House of Representatives, letters to commissioners and the President concerning the jailed suffragettes, letters from Carrie Chapman Catt and other leaders.

The Suffrage movement and leaders have been used to illustrate political and leadership styles, organizational management and social change. Joan C. Tonn's book, *Mary P. Follett: Creating Democracy, Transforming Management*, is an in-depth study of the career and life of Mary Follett, a leader of the Suffrage movement and author. It discusses her literary works, social activism and social networking. The author uses her story to discuss organizational theory and business management.

Sharon Strom published in *The Journal of American History*, "Leadership and Tactics in the American Woman Suffrage Movement: A new Perspective from

Massachusetts.” This article discusses the Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association and the leadership of the organization. The suffrage movement in Massachusetts reflected the character of that region as a whole and the article discusses the differences between it and the National Organization.

Holly J. McCammon, Lyndi Hewitt, and Sandy Smith published “‘No Weapon Save Argument’: Strategic Frame Amplification in the U.S. Woman Suffrage Movements” in *The Sociological Quarterly*. The article discusses the frames utilized to express the sentiments of the woman’s suffrage movements; framing and communication are vital to a leader and leadership styles. This article illustrates leadership traits and information utilization in the suffrage movement but also in the society of the time period.

One can see through the social movements in the U.S. from 1900 to 1920 that women were making a strong impact on the vast changes during the period. The leaders of the Suffrage Movement, Peace Movements, and social justice made the Progressive Era a time of dynamic change which rewrote the social contract on a woman’s place in society. They left a lasting legacy of leadership which still resonates today.

### Leadership

The first items which need to be discussed concerning leadership are those that explain the Army Leadership Requirements Model. Army Doctrine Publication 6-22 *Army Leadership* clearly lays out the Army Leadership Requirements Model which describes the attributes and competencies of an Army Leader. Army Doctrine Reference Publication 6-22, also called *Army Leadership* goes into further depth on the Army’s expectations of leaders and explains the meaning of each of the attributes and

competencies of the model. Field Manual 6-22 *Leader Development* helps to translate the model into practical applications and thus provides examples of application. These documents form the foundation of the concept of leadership as defined by the United States Army. Army Doctrine Publication 6-22, Army Leadership defines as “the process of influencing people by providing purpose, direction, and motivation to accomplish the mission and improve the organization.” It further states that an Army leader is “anyone who by virtue of assumed role or assigned responsibility inspires and influences people to accomplish organizational goals.”<sup>78</sup> Nowhere in that definition does it denote a requirement for rank or position in order to influence, motivate or improve an organization. The women who served with the Armed forces in World War I were all in positions that are covered under the Army’s definition of leaders and provided leadership as per the definition.

The Army Leadership Requirements Model defines the Attributes and the Competencies that are considered the foundation of Army leadership. Attributes are divided into three categories: character, presence and intellect. The Competencies are leads, develops and achieves. Other publications such as *Strategic Leadership Primer*, published by the United States Army War College, go into Army specific leadership requirements and expectations.

Leadership, outside the Army, is also a topic with many articles and books written about the topic is its many permutations. There are some authors whose classic books cannot be ignored in a discussion of leadership: James MacGregor Burns, Susan Cain,

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<sup>78</sup> Department of the Army, Army Doctrine Publication (ADP) 6-22, *Army Leadership* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 2011), 1.

Daniel Goldman, John Kotter, and John C Maxwell: each of their books deal with leadership and with different aspects of organizational leadership and change management. James Burns' *Leadership*, is an absolute must in studying leadership; this book contains a vast wealth of thought on leadership, leadership styles, politics, decision making and leadership. It looks at leadership in a historic reflection as well as a modern thought process.

Susan Cain's, *Quiet: The Power of Introverts in a World that Can't Stop Talking*, is a ground breaking work in looking at the personality type of introverts and how that has an impact on leadership style. The book shows the differences between the two tendencies of temperament and the impact but also discusses the impact of an ideal leader type on the workplace. The book *Quiet* opens up the strengths of the introvert in many situations. The reader is introduced to the strengths of introverts in the world with powerful examples such as Eleanor Roosevelt. Eleanor was a woman who was a product of the changes in American Society. There are similarities of her story within *Quiet* with the women in this study. They shared many of the same characteristics, a social justice worker from a young age, studious, empathic but also with a strong sense of will and determination. This was demonstrated by her work during her husband's presidency. This book gives some insights into the introvert and their leadership style and with this insight, one can look at the women during World War I and see similarities in their own lives.

Two other major works are Daniel Goldman's *Emotional Intelligence* and John Kotter's *Leading Change*. In *Emotional Intelligence*, Goldman defines the study of emotional intelligence and how emotions can highjack intelligence. He discusses how

this impacts all aspects of life and illustrates how having an understanding of emotional intelligence is critical in leadership. The aspects of emotional intelligence are of particular importance when studying women's leadership models because when reviewing the lives of the women profiled in this thesis, the concepts of self-awareness, self-discipline and empathy are evident in their lives. Without self-awareness many of the women would not have taken the huge step to volunteer to serve. Without self-discipline, they would not have been successful in traveling overseas and working in the conditions they found themselves. The first time a bomb went off beside them, they would have run back to the United States. And without empathy, they would not have been as successful in understanding the needs of others around them. They might not have called it Emotional Intelligence during World War I but they knew the importance of the qualities that exemplify it. This book educates the modern reader to the concepts and how we can incorporate it into modern leadership.

John P. Kotter's *Leading Change*, is one of the definitive works on leading an organization through change. This book lays out an eight step process for managing change with positive results in an organization. Of particular interest for this paper is considering what is necessary for change to take place and reflecting on why some changes remained after the war and others did not. World War I was a time of change. The women profiled in this thesis had to move through the changing environment and function in a world that changed each day. The experiences of the women can be looked at through Kotter's definitions of the process of change and learn about how they handled change.

Another leadership style defined as servant leadership by Robert Greenleaf is a very important style to discuss when reviewing women of the 1900s. In 1977 Robert Greenleaf published *Servant Leadership* for the first time. Since then it has been republished and revised. James Autry's *The Servant Leader*, builds on the work of Robert Greenleaf and further discusses how to utilize the concepts of servant leadership to build creative teams, keep morale high and to maximize efficiency in an organization. Two other books *Credibility* by James Kouzes and Barry Posner and *Principle Centered Leadership* by Stephen R Covey also discuss the importance of moral courage and a moral foundation to one's leadership style. These concepts particularly fit with the Army Leadership Requirements Model and the Army Values.

Lastly in the area of leadership, how women influence those around them is important to review. Allan R Cohen and David L. Bradford's *Influence without Authority*, is about how to get and use authority and how to empower others through both direct and indirect influence. The authors detail their Exchange Model to illustrate how to get tasks accomplished in any situation in which the leader is not in charge but must get results. This seems particularly relevant to women during the time period of this thesis. Another book, *Leading with Passion* by Matt Modugno, is a discussion of leadership tips and messages to assist a leader to recognize their leadership potential, improve their skills and connect with their subordinates. The simple messages of connection, passion, and communication will carry a new leader to success. This is a relevant book as it discusses emotion and passion in leadership which are often seen as feminine traits. These are just two examples of the some of the resources on leadership styles.

This chapter is not meant to be a comprehensive listing of all the available works on the subject of World War I, the Progressive Era or leadership. It is meant to discuss some of the major works available and relevant to frame a discussion of women's leadership styles during the timeframe of World War I and to explore the possible impacts of women with the Armed Forces. Once we examine the social and military context of the women, then we can examine the women leaders within that context. By applying our modern models to the leadership styles of these women, we can examine the lasting impact of the women leaders and thus discuss how those styles may or may not continue today.

## CHAPTER 3

### METHODOLOGY

#### Purpose of the Research and the Research Questions

This thesis examines the roles of women in World War I as they intersected with the Armed Forces. It takes a look at the impact of women serving within the war zone on the Armed Forces and how that may have affected the changing view of women in American Society. Lastly, the thesis looks at the leadership styles of the women during World War I in order to extrapolate if there was a common, identifiable leadership style. This will bring to light the contributions of these pioneering women and the contributions of their leadership. These case studies show how women leaders excelled, even when not in official leadership positions. They also highlight the impact that the women had to the mission. Women made significant contributions, saving lives, making an impact and doing things that no one else could do, in order to bring about a successful conclusion to World War I.

#### Research Methodology

This thesis is an applied professional case study.<sup>79</sup> It will provide, through an examination of any relevant primary and secondary source material, a discussion of the historical accounts of women whose lives intersected with the military in World War I and discussion of their relevant leadership styles. The purpose of the study is to provide insights in to the leadership methods of women in the turn of the century and to examine

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<sup>79</sup> Kenneth Long, Class notes on the case study research methodology for professionals, CGSC electives curriculum, 2016.

those styles in an effort to see if they provide lessons to emerging women leaders of today.

The thesis will examine the stories of women to see how those women's leadership behaviors compare with today's Army Leadership Requirements Model as defined by Army Doctrine Publication 6-22. The goal of the research is to provide examples of women's leadership in the historical context and also to provide examples that leaders can reflect on and learn from as they apply this knowledge to today's Army environment. The goal is also to highlight the contributions of the women during World War I to the mission and provide role models for those who study them.

The intended audience of this case study is emerging leaders of the Armed Forces, both military and civilian. It is intended to inform people of the facts of women's service in World War I, which is underrepresented in historical accounts and to draw attention to the contributions of women in the Armed Services. By drawing attention to those contributions, people are reminded of the rich history women's contributions have forged in the military. This thesis could also help to revise some of the content of the Command and General Staff Officers Course curriculum in order to include these examples of leadership into the curriculum and honor the contributions of women during World War I and the impact they made on the Army going forward to today.

This study was conducted through a broad based search of books, periodicals and other material for relevant facts and then examining those facts to put leadership into the context of World War I for women. The first step was conducting a thorough search of available resources to give a general context to the questions. Books concerning general history of the time period were examined to form the basis of the background. Next,

books on specific organizations such as the ARC and books specific to women serving in the Armed Forces were reviewed. At the same time, primary source documentation was sought that would give actual letters or commentary of the women for each case study. The primary sources included letters and diary entries, although not all were from the original source itself. Books that were written during or right after the period of 1917 through 1935 were also considered as primary sources.

For this thesis, the researcher reviewed books that were published by scholarly organizations for secondary and tertiary sources. It is important to check the source of information and the credentials of writers when reviewing books, articles and other written material. Anyone can write a book or article and there are many different sources out on the internet but not all of them are credible. Sources were also reviewed to find their relevance and used for their information in order to find further documentation and examples.. The preference was for primary and secondary sources and used those whenever possible. These consisted of diaries and journals and books written with firsthand accounts of the period.

Articles from a variety of sources were accessed through the internet. Articles were examined to give a background to the period concerned any of the organizations that was being researched and on women's leadership styles. Each article was reviewed to see if the content was relevant to the narrow confines of the thesis. For example, there are many different articles on Jane Addams, but very few of them addressed any impact that Ms. Addams had on the Armed Forces or on the leadership styles of the women used for each case study.

I used the Army Leadership Requirements Model, which is the current doctrine for leadership studies within the Army, as a framework to examine the leadership styles of women from over 100 years ago. The model is divided into two areas, attributes and competencies. The attributes are a discussion of what a leader is supposed to be. The competencies area what a person does in order to be a leader. The model provides the characteristics that will be looked for in the stories of each of the women. For each of the women, an experience will be recounted and the areas will be examined to see if there are elements of either the attributes or competencies within the experience.

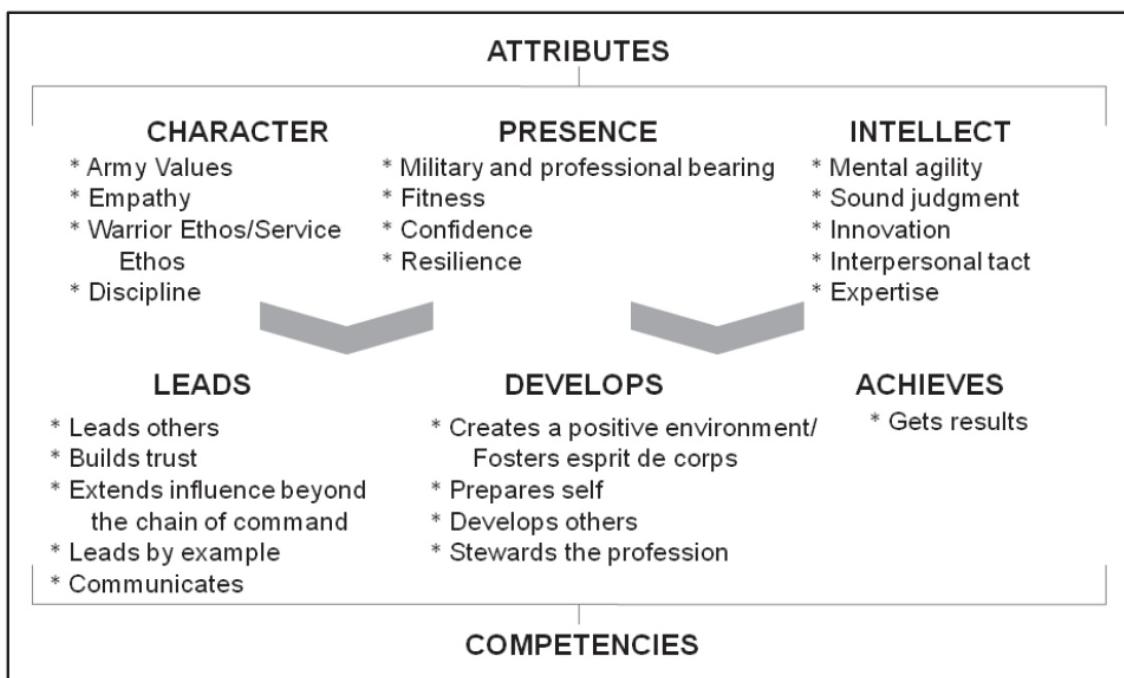


Figure 1. ADRP 6-22, Army Leadership

*Source:* Department of the Army, Army Doctrine Reference Publication (ADRP) 6-22, *Army Leadership* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 2011).

The information contained in the other leadership books give context and depth to the discussion. Emotional intelligence is a useful attribute for leaders and so, if evidence of this skill is shown in the experiences of the women discussed, then it will be included in the analysis.

The researcher developed a grid in which aspects of the Leadership Requirements Model were listed across the top and different parts of the women's experiences could be arrayed down the other side. Each part of the story can then be compared against elements of the model and a "yes" put in the columns. The more a yes was entered, the stronger the correlation between their experiences and the Model. By comparing the situations the women of World War I endured it will illustrate the qualities of women leadership that impact on today's leaders.

The case study approach is valid for this type of review and examination of literature. The strength of this approach is that it can take a quantity of information and focuses that information into a comparison with a known model. A reader can then use that familiar model and the comparison made with the literature to form their own insights. The reader than must take the information as a springboard for further research.

### Chapter Summary

This comparative case study thesis will examine and compare the experiences of several women as they served during World War I against the Army Leadership Requirements Model and against the definitions of various identified leadership types. It will look at the actions and decisions the women made under difficult circumstances in order to complete their difficult missions.

Women emerged into the new century of 1900 poised to take on new roles and go on new adventures. The world was changing with job opportunities, new technology and even movements towards the right to vote. As women took new roles in the office, working the new phone switchboards and in industry, they took with them the different values and methods of work that would evolve into leadership styles. Those styles would carry women forward into World War I and beyond.

## CHAPTER 4

### ANALYSIS

#### Application of the Research Model

Leadership comes in all styles, shapes and all different places. However, people more often associate leadership with actual position or rank. The writer was talking to someone about this thesis and the first thing the person said was, “I didn’t know there were any women officers in World War I.” His first thought was about official positions of power rather than any other type of influence. Another conversation with a History professional at the Command and General Staff College was similar with the gentlemen expressing surprise that there were any women serving in France in during the war other than nurses. This is only two specific conversations but the researcher found the same theme anytime the research was discussed. These conversations are relevant to the overall context of women in leadership positions because people do not know about this history and also, they see the nature of leadership as one of defined position rather than something that anyone can utilize to influence their environment.

Women in World War I did not hold officer positions. The Red Cross replaced its female president and placed only men on the War Council. The Army Signal Corps had no women officers nor were there officers in any other place that woman served the Armed Forces. In the back of Lettie Gavin’s book *American Women in World War I*, there is a list of all the women who served and were injured or died overseas. It also lists all the women who were recognized for their service with medals, citations and awards. These women lived and served side by side with the men. They may not have been at the

front shooting weapons, but they served in vital roles that supported the war. They left their mark on the people they interacted with and in many cases displayed leadership.

Ms. Delano's work to define the rules under which the nurses were to conduct themselves and in designing a uniform that would distinguish the nurses from ordinary citizens were ways to ensure that others gave them the respect that they deserved, are examples of the competency "respect."<sup>80</sup> Before Delano was superintendent of nurses for the Red Cross she was the Superintendent of the ANC. Although this episode occurred before the war was declared, it illustrates the way Delano worked within the Army. She was involved with building a nurses residence at Walter Reed Hospital. The Army told her the site she had chosen for the residence was against Army Regulation. Delano responded that the regulation should be changed because this was the best place. It worked and the residence was constructed where Delano requested it to be built.<sup>81</sup> This episode illustrates two attributes Presence and Intellect. Delano demonstrates confidence in her position and in her understanding of the requirements. She also demonstrates innovation by not accepting the excuse of regulation when she knew her solution would be a better fit for both the Army and the nurses.<sup>82</sup>

The most telling event that showed Delano as an example of what the Army desires for its leaders is the impact of her untimely death shortly after the Armistice was

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<sup>80</sup> Dock et al., 358.

<sup>81</sup> Mary A, Clarke, *Memories of Jane A Delano* (New York: Lakeside Publishing Co., 1934), 43.

<sup>82</sup> Department of the Army, ADP 6-22, 5.

signed. She died from complications of an illness while in France visiting the forward support nurses she had sent in support of the war. One testament to her said it well:

She built up this reserve corps until it was recognized as the foremost medium through which the nurses of America might respond to patriotic and humanitarian service in time of national crises. She saw this organization, to which she had given the best years of her life, meet the gigantic burdens of war; she saw the nurses holding up the hands of the Medical Department of the Army; she saw them turning with equal success to the tremendous problems of peace.<sup>83</sup>

These words would not be possible if she had not been capable in leading others, building trust, communication, and extending her influence. All of these are parts under the competency of “Leads.”<sup>84</sup> Delano was a true leader and inspiration to all who encountered her.

Table 1. Comparison for Ms. Delano, American Red Cross

Action	Character	Presence	Intellect	Leads	Develops	Achieves
Importance of Uniforms		Yes		Yes		
Influence beyond command	Yes			Yes		
Taught classes			Yes		Yes	
Built the organization	Yes			Yes	Yes	Yes
# of nurse who served				Yes		Yes

Source: Created by author.

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<sup>83</sup> Henry P. Davison, *The American Red Cross in the Great War* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1920), 91.

<sup>84</sup> Department of the Army, ADP 6-22, 5.

A second female leader during World War I was Grace Banker (Paddock) who was the Chief Operator with the first contingent of women who came to France. She had been an instructor in the operating department of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company. She had to develop relationships not only with the American military but the French Civil Service.<sup>85</sup> The attribute of Character includes the Army Values (Loyalty, Duty, Respect, Selfless Service, Honor, Integrity, Personal Courage), and Grace demonstrated her adherence to those values time and time again. In particular was her work during the Saint Mihiel operation. She records in her memories that she worked all day until 11:30 p.m., allowing her staff to leave much earlier. She was awoken by artillery fire so went back to work at 2:00 a.m. She continued to work until 9:30 the next night.<sup>86</sup> The work and the mission meant so much to her and her actions demonstrated selfless service. Another example of Banker's adherence to the Army Leadership Requirements Model attributes is her ability to lead others. She was put in charge of the first thirty three women to sail for France. In one accounting of her life she commented, "Once I froze my feet badly without even going out of the barracks. I had been working long hours with very little sleep. Before a drive, I seldom had more than two or three hours of rest."<sup>87</sup> This showed discipline and dedication to the Army values.

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<sup>85</sup> Gavin, 83.

<sup>86</sup> Evans, 121.

<sup>87</sup> Paddock, 113.

Table 2. Comparison for Ms. Grace Banker, Army Signal Corps

Action	Character	Presence	Intellect	Leads	Develops	Achieves
Took care of her staff	Yes	Yes		Yes		
Influence beyond command	Yes			Yes		
Saint Mihiel operation	Yes		Yes			
Supported where needed	Yes			Yes	Yes	Yes
Perseverance in face of adversity	Yes	Yes		Yes		Yes

*Source:* Created by author.

Ruth Stimson was one of the other major leaders of the Red Cross and Army Nurse's Corps during the War. She remained active with the service after the war and fought for women to receive true commissions with pay and benefits to match their rank.<sup>88</sup> The contributions that women made to the Armed Services in World War II directly tied back to the groundbreaking work of the women of 1918. Edith Nourse Rogers was a U.S Representative from Massachusetts. When legislation was introduced for creation of the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps, she fought for the women. The U.S Army History website said "having been a witness to the status of women in WWI, Rogers vowed that if American women served in support of the Army, they would do so with all rights and benefits afforded to Soldier."<sup>89</sup> This acknowledged the link between the women of the two wars.

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<sup>88</sup> Jensen, 141.

<sup>89</sup> United States Army, "Women in the Army, Creation of the Army Women's Corps," accessed January 15, 2017, <https://www.army.mil/women/history/wac.html>.

The Navy and the Marines enlisted women into the service for World War I.

Women were not as officers but enlisted and a few achieved the rank of Chief Petty Officer.<sup>90</sup> One of the Yeoman (F) Joy Bright Hancock wrote in her autobiography about her experiences. Unlike many of the other women who served with the Navy, Hancock was not a secretary or filing clerk. She served as a messenger and courier at the Navy Shipyard in New Jersey. She served later with a personnel officer at Cape May.<sup>91</sup> She was also involved in selling war bonds. Her biggest contributions were her later service after the War. When it was over she became a civilian employee of the Navy Bureau of Aeronautics. When the Women Accepted for Volunteer Emergency Service was created, she became one of the first women to be commissioned an officer. She eventually became the Assistant Chief of Naval Personnel for Women.<sup>92</sup> She retired as a Captain in the Navy and has a leadership award named after her that is given each year by the Navy. It honors the visionary leadership of a naval officer whose ideals and dedication led to the integration of women in the regular Navy.<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>90</sup> Zeiger, *America's Great War*, 142.

<sup>91</sup> Ebbert and Hall, 44.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid., 9.

<sup>93</sup> Chief of Naval Personnel Public Affairs, “Accepting Nominations for Exceptional Leadership Awards,” November 14, 2016, accessed April 28, 2017, [www.navy.mil](http://www.navy.mil).

Table 3. Comparison for Yeoman(F) Joy Bright Hancock, U.S. Navy

Action	Character	Presence	Intellect	Leads	Develops	Achieves
Dedication to service	Yes					
Perseverance		Yes				
Confidence		Yes				
Got results						Yes
Innovation			Yes			

*Source:* Created by author.

Women who served in the Marine Corps and Navy fared better after the War. One woman Martrese Thek Ferguson served with the Marines during the war. She stayed in afterwards and when America went back to War, she rose to the rank of lieutenant colonel and was commanding more than 2,000 women at Henderson Hall in Arlington, Virginia.<sup>94</sup> One more example demonstrates the far reaching impact of service in the Armed Forces; Bernice Duncan Smith served in the Navy and then joined the Army during World War II. Her family continued to follow her example and two of her grandsons served in Vietnam in the Army and the Navy.<sup>95</sup>

Outside of Army doctrine there have been many definitions of leadership. As diverse as people interacting with people, there are multiple different types of leadership defined by types of scholars. Some of the defined styles of leadership are: Transformation leadership, Charismatic, Principle-Centered, Servant, and Covenantal leadership.<sup>96</sup> Each

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<sup>94</sup> Gavin, 26.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid.

<sup>96</sup> Cam Caldwell et al., “Transformative Leadership: Achieving Unparalleled Excellence,” *Journal of Business Ethics* 109, no. 2 (2012): 177.

of these modern leadership styles as characterized by how the person using them interacts with those around them and employs them to get the mission accomplished.

Transformation leadership is defined as “Ethically based leadership model that integrates a commitment to values and outcomes by optimizing the long-term interests of stakeholders and society and honoring the moral duties owed by organizations to their stakeholders.”<sup>97</sup> Transformation leadership has a focus on duty based ethics and on the morality of the means rather than the ends. It is characterized as inspirational motivation and individualized consideration.<sup>98</sup> Transformational leadership applies to the organization, community and the individuals within the organization. Within the ANC, Ms. Delano, the first chief of Nurses is a prime example of this type of leadership.

Charismatic leadership defines the relationship that depends on the leaders own force of personality. Charismatic leaders can only succeed if they have followers who are willing to believe what the leader is providing as a vision of the organization. Charismatic leaders “inspire a shared vision in pursuit of a grand ideal and create a personal relationship to bring out the best in others.”<sup>99</sup> Leaders inspire hearts, touching the souls of their followers. An example of this style of leadership can be found in the leadership of Grace Banker with the Army Signal Corps.

Principle-centered leadership encourages a leader to utilize the four central principles of security, guidance, wisdom and power as the core of their professional and

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<sup>97</sup> Ibid., 176.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid., 183.

personal lives. Greatness is achieved by adhering to moral principles and values that benefit society, and, as a leader pursues excellence, those principles remain foremost in the organization.<sup>100</sup> It is easy to see why the women of World War I would have utilized principle-centered leadership with ease. In that time the ideas of adherence to moral principles and doing things that benefit society were basic parts of their makeup. The women of the YMCA and YWCA both illustrated this type of value focused service.

Servant leadership is a term made popular by Robert Greenleaf in 1970. He describes the servant leader to be a servant to others first. A leader has to have a servant heart. It is a particular type of awareness that puts the leader as the servant to the followers.<sup>101</sup> This does not mean that the servant leader sits back and lets other people run the operation. Servant leaders initiate action and communicate their vision to their followers in such a way that “demonstrates a commitment to their welfare, growth and wholeness while seeking the long-term success of the organization.”<sup>102</sup> This type of leadership is illustrated by women who served in France. Miss Hope Butler and Dr. Marquente Cockett organized and drove an ambulance at the front lines before the U.S. even entered the war. The women of the Signal Corps venturing into unknown worlds, sitting beside their stations even as their building burned or bombs fell.

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<sup>100</sup> Stephen R. Covey, *Principle-Centered Leadership* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1990).

<sup>101</sup> Robert K. Greenleaf, *Servant Leadership: A Journey into the Nature of Legitimate Power and Greatness* (New York: Paulist Press, 1977), 22.

<sup>102</sup> Caldwell et al., 183.

### Chapter Summary

Army Doctrine Reference Publication 6-22 states that “Leadership is the process of influencing people by providing purpose, direction, and motivation to accomplish the mission and improve the organization.”<sup>103</sup> The actions of the women who served in World War I can be shown to have leadership characteristics and their actions are in keeping with Army doctrine. The discussions in this chapter demonstrated that the women who served in World War I, followed the precepts of the Army Leadership Requirements Model. One can also find elements of other leadership styles such as transformation, principle-centered and servant leadership. The women who served with the Armed Forces during World War I made history through their actions.

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<sup>103</sup> Department of the Army, Army Doctrine Reference Publication (ADRP) 6-22, *Army Leadership* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 2011), 1-1.

## CHAPTER 5

### CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This thesis examined the experiences of women who made a difference in World War I as they made their way through a new world. It examined what the leadership styles of the emerging women leaders in the American Red Cross, ANC, the YMCA and YWCA, the Army Signal Corps and the U.S. Navy were during World War I in the United States. It compared stories of women who demonstrated leadership as defined by the Army Leadership Requirements Model. As women leaders continue to expand their professionalism it is good to look back into history to see what others have done and how that relates to today.

Another question raised was if the women made an impact on the Armed Forces and if through use of their personal and referent power, changes were made. There is ample evidence that the lives of women changed after World War I and the women who served made a difference. National American Women Suffrage Association used women's wartime service for the campaign for women's suffrage within the U.S.<sup>104</sup> In September of 1918, Woodrow Wilson made a speech concerning the suffrage issue. "We have made partners of the women in this war, shall we admit them only to a partnership of suffering and sacrifice and toll and not to a partnership of privilege and right."<sup>105</sup> The

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<sup>104</sup> Lynn Dumenil, "American Women and the Great War," *OAH Magazine of History* 17, no. 1 (2002): 35-39, accessed November 6, 2016, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25163562>.

<sup>105</sup> Barbara Wilson, "WWI Thirty Thousand Women Were There," last modified 2004, accessed January 15, 2017, <http://userpages.aug.com/captbarb/femvets4.html>.

eventual passage of the Suffrage amendment in 1920 supported that others saw the sacrifice and service of the women in France and agreed with President Wilson.

Women's service was acknowledged but not always officially recognized. The women who served with the Army Signal Corps were not recognized with the official AEF service medals, veterans' benefits or other rights for service with the Army. Merle Anderson led the fight. It took 60 years for the women to be recognized as veterans by Congress. In 1978 the 223 women were recognized as veterans. Only 70 women were still alive by then.<sup>106</sup> But even with congressional recognition, in the 579 pages of the Signal Corp's official history published by the Army Lineage Series, Center of Military History—there is no mention of the women who served in World War I.

Army Leadership definition and army leaders recognize of the importance of informal leadership. This was demonstrated by the women who served in multiple capacities and impacted the lives of service members without formal rank. As women, we must remember that the informal leader will sometimes have as much influence as the formal “leaders” of their organization and others will look to us for examples and inspiration. We do not need to wait around for others to point and say, “You are a leader” or give us a title. We can show through our character, morals, integrity and compassion what it means to be a leader and to lead.

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<sup>106</sup> Michelle Christides, “The History of the Hello Girl,” accessed January 15, 2017, <http://www.worldwar1.comdbc/hello.htm>.

### Recommendations for Chief Decision Maker

This thesis could only lightly examine the history of women and World War I. There have been excellent books written that give details of the women and their service. I would like to see stakeholders review this information and consider changes to the curriculum of the College and that others will also be intrigued enough to examine the women in greater detail. Women leadership discussions should also include the contributions of these women and the hurdles they overcame to make their contributions. For those stakeholders outside the Armed Forces, they should gain an appreciation of the Army Leadership Requirements Model and its application to the study of leadership in all avenues of corporate America. The United States Navy has a women's leadership award named after Joy Bright Hancock which recognizes visionary leadership and honors inspirational Navy Service Members who further integration of women into the Navy.<sup>107</sup> The Army does not have a similar award. This might be an area that should be explored and such an award be established for the Army.

### Recommendations for Further Study

The next set of researchers should use this thesis as a starting point to examine some of the women in detail and to look at some specific use of women's leadership styles. A recommendation for future study is to apply the same method to modern women leaders in the Armed Forces. Another area to explore would be a possible update to the Army Leadership Requirements Model, to ensure that the model remains current and

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<sup>107</sup> Department of Navy, "Accepting Nominations for Exceptional Leadership of Awards," accessed May 1, 2017, [http://www.navy.mil/submit/display.asp?story\\_id=97665](http://www.navy.mil/submit/display.asp?story_id=97665).

relevant. Also, this thesis may generate a broad study of Army workers to validate the principles of leadership are actually being applied in the workplace. As the Army continues to wrestle with the integration of women into combat operations but also the remaining negative attitudes about women that are still demonstrated by Army officers today, this thesis should remind those who read it of the contributions and strength of the women who serve.

#### Personal Reflections on Lessons Learned



Figure 2. Picture of Miss Phyllis Broughton

*Source:* Broughton Family (the author's) archives, Norma Broughton Pizzo.

As the picture above might indicate, this thesis and the research has been a learning experience for me. The picture is of my great aunt Phyllis who served as a WAVE in World War II. She was able to serve through the work of Hancock and others who advocated for women's ability to serve. I had studied the Progressive Era while doing my undergraduate work and admired the work of those women and their impact on the United States. This thesis allowed me to further explore some of the concepts of leadership and especially the Army Leadership Requirements Model as it related to the women who served in World War I. I learned about the amazing conditions that the women worked through and the how the world changed before their eyes. This work also helped me to clarify my own personal style of leadership.

## APPENDIX I

### CASE STUDY RESEARCH METHOD

Case study research method lecture notes—Dr. Long (ver 1.0)

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Case studies are a useful method for conducting qualitative research for problem areas that are human-centric, dynamic, volatile, and contain a mix of stakeholders, interests, variables and information concepts that demand a deep understanding of context in order to produce informed policy choices (Creswell, 2009, 2013, 2014; Yin, 2014).

Case studies are appropriate and useful when the goal of the research is to inform or persuade policy makers about the rich and deep context of a setting associated with complex human issues where the goal is to take informed action to improve the situation. They make an explicit trade-off in favor of making informed policy choices in a strictly defined setting over the purpose of generating broad theoretical knowledge that has a wide applicability beyond the boundaries of the chosen setting. Case study designs look at how different types of knowledge and the associated methods of gathering, analyzing and making sense of information can be mixed to create a rich and deep understanding of the research area. (Hancock & Algozzine, 2011; Gagnon, 2010).

Long (2016) describes the practical application of the case study method within the MMAS program over a five year period. He provided a set of critical decisions that can guide a case study design to satisfy the purpose of either informing or persuading policy decision makers. By addressing each of the key points of that design model the MMAS case study can make a systematic, consistent and aligned argument for their research design.

Key elements of Long's case study research design (Long, 2016):

1. Decide on purpose: to inform or to persuade.
2. Describe the intended audience/Chief Decision Maker (CDM) that the case study will inform.
3. What are the CDM's key concerns?
4. Describe the range of policy decisions the case study will inform.
5. Summarize the broader context for the analysis to establish the setting boundaries.
6. Describe the conceptual models of the stakeholders that will be used to evaluate the case study content (for case studies that inform).
7. Identify decision process models that will be used to make sense of the case study recommendations (for case studies that persuade).
8. Identify the stakeholders in the environment in terms of level of interest and capacity to shape the environment.

9. Describe the analytical approach that will be persuasive to the CDM and stakeholders and which will be appropriate to the information gathered.
10. Describe the range and sample of sources that will be sufficient and convincing to the CDM and stakeholders (due diligence).
11. Describe the necessary and sufficient assumptions, limitations and delimitations that must be made in order to proceed. Revise and adjust as needed.
12. Describe the evaluation criteria the stakeholders and CDM will use to assess your recommendations if your purpose is to persuade.
13. How might sociology and politicization influence the message/content of your argument? How will you account for it or address it?

Examples of the context-appropriate concepts, models, processes and evaluation criteria from the MMAS setting include:

1. The structured staff study from FM 6-0, Chapter 5 as a persuasive professional process geared to persuade a CDM, based on Army problem solving methodology from FM 6-0, Ch 4.
2. The Capability Based Analysis (CBA) model for analyzing opportunities, requirements and gaps in the development of military capability.
3. The criteria of suitable, feasible, acceptable for evaluating policy recommendations or courses of action.
4. The Sustainment Preparation of the Operational Environment (SPOE) for developing a sustainment options for campaign plans.
5. The ADDIE model, Bloom's taxonomy, and the US Army Accountable Instruction System (AIS) for framing and analyzing education program options within a professional military curriculum.
6. Army Design Methodology (ADM) for developing problem finding and framing hypothesis for unstructured or wicked problems.

Each of these examples will ground the researcher firmly in the professional context of military policy decision makers and stakeholders and allow them to concentrate on content and argumentation because of the use of professionally accepted models and processes that have stood the test of time for practicality and utility. Using a reasonable professional standard, the researcher can proceed to engage the CDM within the context of an acceptable model for purposes of making progress within the tightly scoped problem/opportunity space of the case study, and leave to other researchers the inquiry into improving, validating, or critiquing the professional standards of practice being employed

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